1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
249

CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuòdipol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teuol*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teuol* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or "praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Simpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ê teu sati uddsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr uddsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
● 756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
234 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
754 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
754 relation existing between magic and religion among the
793 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one